

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02  
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03 INRE-00  
SSO-00 NSCE-00 DHA-02 /074 W  
-----151405Z 077177 /50

O R 151230Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5884

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1676

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA, US, UN, ZA

SUBJ: BRIEFING OF SWAPO ON NAMIBIAN TALKS

REF: CAPE TOWN 0969

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR MCHENRY AND DONALD PETTERSON WITH  
REPRESENTATIVES OF LUSAKA CONTACT GROUP BRIEFED SWAPO  
REPRESENTATIVES ON NAMIBIA TALKS JUNE 14. MCHENRY REVIEWED  
PROGRESS MADE IN RESOLVING QUESTION LEFT OUTSTANDING FROM  
LAST CONTACT GROUP MEETINGS WITH SAG, EMPHASIZING THAT UNDER-  
STANDING REACHED WITH SAG SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A PACKAGE.  
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SWAPO REACTIONS REFLECTED SUSPICION OF SOUTH AFRICANS  
REAL INTENTIONS. THEY FOCUSED ON ROLE OF ADMINISTRATOR  
GENERAL, EXTENT OF UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL, AND POSITION  
OF POLICE AND MILITARY IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. SWAPO REPS  
ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN HOW MUCH CONSIDERATION HAD BEEN  
GIVEN BY THE CONTACT GROUP TO ITS PRE-CONDITIONS AND ARGUED  
THAT SWAPO TRAITORS COULD NOT BE EQUATED WITH POLITICAL

PRISONERS HELD BY SOUTH AFRICA. THEY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR WORK DONE BY CONTACT GROUP BUT CAUTIONED THEY WERE MOST SUSPICIOUS OF SAG AND THAT THERE ARE STILL MANY HURDLES TO BE GOTTEN OVER BEFORE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED.  
END SUMMARY.

AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET WITH SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES DAVID MERORO, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN; RICHARD KAPELWA, DEPUTY DEFENSE SECRETARY; AND HIDIPO HAMUTENYA, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, FOR 1-1/2 HOURS. MCHENRY IN HIS OPENING REMARKS EXPLAINED THAT BRIEFINGS ON NAMIBIAN TALKS WERE BEING DONE BY PARTICIPANTS WHO COULD PROVIDE FLAVOR OF DISCUSSIONS AND ANSWER MORE PRECISELY QUESTIONS RAISED. HE CAUTIONED THAT TALKS HAD BEEN EXPLORATORY IN NATURE AND RESULTS WERE A PACKAGE THAT OFFERED THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTING SECURITY COUNCIL RES. 385. PACKAGE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS WHOLE AND NOT REJECTED ON THE BASIS OF ONE OR ANOTHER ELEMENT. MCHENRY EXPLAINED THAT SECOND ROUND OF TALKS HAD LED TO CLARIFICATION OF POINTS LEFT HAZY BY THE FIRST ROUND AND THEN DETAILED PROGRESS MADE AS OUTLINED IN REFTEL. SWAPO REPS IN REPLY ASKED QUESTIONS AND MADE OBSERVATIONS AS FOLLOWS:

---HOW DOES THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL FOR NAMIBIA GOVERN? IF IT IS THROUGH THE EXISTING POLICE AND ARMY THIS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO. RESPONSE: THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL'S FREEDOM TO USE THE POLICE AND ARMY FAVOR ANY ONE POLITICAL GROUPING WOULD BE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD HAVE TO BE SATISFIED AS TO THE FAIRNESS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

---SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ALONE WOULD BE UNABLE TO ENSURE CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT ALL PARTIES WERE TREATED FAIRLY. MCHENRY REPEATED THAT SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD NOT BE OPERATING ALONE. HE WOULD HAVE WITH HIM A TEAM OF UN-APPOINTED OFFICIALS CAPABLE OF DOING THE JOB.

---HAVE SOUTH AFRICANS ACCEPTED UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL? RESPONSE: IN SUBSTANCE YES, BUT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WANT TO CALL IT BY ANOTHER TERM, "UN INVOLVEMENT."

---ARE THE FIVE POWERS HOLDING DISCUSSIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA PREPARED TO SUBMIT TO SECURITY COUNCIL DIRECTION? RESPONSE: ANY PROGRAM ACCEPTED FOR MOVING NAMIBIA TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE WILL INVOLVE THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND HE WILL HAVE TO OPERATE UNDER THE TERMS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. MCHENRY STRESSED THAT A PROGRAM ALONG THE LINES HE HAD PRESENTED WOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

---WHAT ARE THE NEXT STEPS BY THE CONTACT GROUP? RESPONSE: GROUP WILL NOW SIT DOWN WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO FLESH OUT PROPOSALS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN AGREEMENT. A STUDY IS NOW UNDERWAY TO DETERMINE WHAT THE UN WILL BE CALLED UPON TO DO. GROUP WILL ALSO SIT DOWN WITH SWAPO TO GET ITS

CONSIDERED REACTIONS. SWAPO'S VIEWS ARE VERY IMPORTANT.  
MCHENRY STRESSED THAT A PROCESS HAS ALREADY BEEN STARTED.  
A TURNHALLE TYPE INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN DERAILED AND A VIABLE  
ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED. HE CAUTIONED THAT THE SAG MAY BE  
PRESENTING TO THE WORLD AN IMAGE OF REASONABLENESS CONFIDENT  
THAT SWAPO WILL TAKE POSITIONS WHICH WILL LEAVE IT WITH THE  
ONUS FOR ARRESTING THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESS.  
---DOES THE CONTACT GROUP ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT SOUTH AFRICA  
HAS A LEGAL STATUS IN NAMIBIA? RESPONSE: NO, BUT IF THE  
SAG WISHES TO PRETEND THAT IT DOES FOR ITS OWN INTERNAL POLITICAL  
REASONS, THIS SHOULD NOT IMPEDE MOVEMENT TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE.  
---WHO PROPOSED THE IDEA OF AN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL?  
MCHENRY REPEATED HIS PRESENTATION ON HOW THE CONCEPT OF AN  
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL HAD EVOLVED.  
---WHAT CONSIDERATION HAD THE CONTACT GROUP GIVEN TO SWAPO  
PRE-CONDITIONS? RESPONSE: SOME HAD BEEN DEALT WITH (FREEING

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02  
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03 INRE-00  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1676

OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ELECTIONS), OTHERS (DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN SWAPO AND SAG, GENEVA TYPE CONFERENCE) HAD NOT. ---POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES HELD BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS CANNOT BE EQUATED WITH THOSE HELD BY SWAPO OUTSIDE NAMIBIA. THOSE HELD IN ZAMBIA ACTED AS SOUTH AFRICAN SPIES DURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK ON SWAPO CAMP AT SIALO, ZAMBIA ON JULY 11, 1976. ON THE OTHER HAND THOSE HELD BY SOUTH AFRICA WERE PATRIOTS FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIBERTY. BESIDES, SWAPO RECOGNIZES THERE WILL BE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NAMIBIA ONCE IT TAKES POWER. MCHENRY WARNED THAT SWAPO COULD EXPECT NO SUPPORT FROM THE US IF IT STARTED OFF WITH THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT WAS LEGITIMATE FOR SWAPO TO HOLD POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD BE EXPECTED TO INSIST ON THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL  
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PRISONERS, AND SWAPO SHOULD NOT LET THIS BECOME AN ISSUE WHICH WOULD IMPEDE MOVEMENT IN THE PROCESS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. ---IN CONCLUSION SWAPO DELEGATION EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS BUT EXPRESSED CONTINUED SUSPICION OF SAG, ESPECIALLY ANY ROLE IT MIGHT HAVE IN APPOINTING ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND ANY CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES IN NAMIBIA. DELEGATION PROMISED TO DISCUSS BRIEFING WITH OTHERS IN SWAPO AND GET BACK TO THE CONTACT GROUP WITH CONSIDERED REACTIONS.

COMMENT: THE OVERRIDING IMPRESSION THAT CAME THROUGH FROM THE TONE OF THE QUESTIONING WAS ONE OF DEEP SUSPICION THAT ANYTHING AGREED TO BY SOUTH AFRICA WOULD OF NECESSITY NOT BE IN SWAPO'S INTERESTS. TO OVERCOME THIS SUSPICION OBVIOUSLY IS GOING TO BE A FORMIDABLE TASK. WHILE THERE MAY BE SOME VALIDITY IN THE ARGUMENT THAT SOME OF THE SWAPO DETAINEES SERVED AS SPIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA, THIS CERTAINLY IS NOT TRUE FOR ALL OF THOSE JAILED IN TANZANIA AND THOSE DETAINED IN ZAMBIA FOR LOYALTY TO SHIPANGA.

NOTE: THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT CLEARED BY AMBASSADOR MCHENRY.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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